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ABSTRACT

Successful implementation of school-based management (SBM) begins with effective principal leadership. This paper describes findings of a study that examined the principal's role in implementing school-based decision making. Ethnographic data were collected over a 3-year period in 4 elementary schools that implemented SBM. Methods included observation and 66 formal interviews with principals, teachers, parents, and program facilitators. Findings indicate that a facilitative leadership style was most compatible with SBM. A facilitative principal shares decision-making responsibilities on issues related to school management and administration, encourages the development of leadership within the nonadministrative staff, and fosters a school climate of trust and efficacy. The principal also needs the support of some committed staff. Female principals tended to have greater success with facilitative leadership than did male principals, perhaps because women tend to utilize less hierarchical leadership styles. Another reason might be that subordinates perceive facilitative male leaders as weak. Three figures are included. (Contains 39 references.) (LMI)

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A PROCESS OF LEARNING:

THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE IN PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT

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A PROCESS OF LEARNING:

THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE IN PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT

ABSTRACT: Leadership is important to the successful implementation of school-based management. Ethnographic data from three years of implementation in four elementary schools implementing participatory management indicates that successful implementation of school-based management begins with effective principal leadership, and that the style of principal leadership which is most compatible with school-based management is a facilitative leadership style. A facilitative principal shares decision-making on issues related to school management and administration, encourages the development of leadership within the non-administrative staff, and fosters a climate of trust and efficacy in the school. The principal also needs the support of some committed staff. Preliminary analysis indicates that female principals tend to have greater success with facilitative leadership than male principals, perhaps because women tend to less hierarchical leadership styles, or perhaps because subordinates accept facilitative leadership more readily from women while it is perceived as weakness among men.

THE PROGRAM: This paper describes the implementation of a school-based management program (pseudonymonously referred to as the Participation Program) in several elementary schools in a Midwestern city. The program is intended to alter the management structure of inner-city schools so that the adults in the building will begin to work together towards the common purpose of serving children's needs. The program utilizes a participatory management model of governance, a popular model of organizational reform which involves staff from all sectors of the organization in decision making. In this case, the program involves both staff and parents in decision making processes. The Participation Program has three teams which meet on a weekly, bi-weekly or monthly basis (at the school's discretion): a parent team, which brings together any interested parents

and community members, including the core of parent volunteers who work full-time in the schools, to discuss any issues from curriculum to bake sales; a social services team, comprised of social services professionals in the school (school psychologist, counselor, social worker, nurse, and special education teachers) who address problems of individual children (such as a child who is acting out in class) and "global" school problems (such as absenteeism and discipline); and, an administrative team, which sets long-term goals and manages the school, comprised of representatives of all interest groups in the school (parents, teachers, other staff [including custodial, cafeteria, office, and social services]). The administrative team considers the suggestions of the other teams and constituency groups (e.g., academic departments), making final decisions and planning their implementation.

The program is grounded in a human relations philosophy of management. Its advocates believe that a school cannot perform well until the social climate[1] in the school is productive; the adults in the school must form constructive relationships (with each other and with the students) in order for the school to make achievement gains. All adult stakeholders in the school should be represented on at least one team. In theory, all issues related to school climate or performance can be addressed within this structure.

In the Participation Program, a program facilitator, who works for an outside agency, is assigned to each school to assist in the implementation process. This facilitator serves

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[1]In the education literature, "social climate" describes the tone of the school (Is it a friendly, inviting place?) and the way that students and others experience that tone (Do students feel that adults in the school care about them? Do parents feel welcome?)

as the trainer, coach and consultant on the program for the school personnel and parents. The facilitator helps schools form teams, develop systems of communication among the team members and between teams and their constituencies, and develop effective methods of problem-solving and strategic planning.

THE PURPOSE OF PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT: Participatory management, a popular organizational reform, is part of the broader movement toward decentralization of bureaucracy. Participatory management falls under the rubric of school-based management; school-based management can be broadly defined as any arrangement in which the management of school affairs (e.g., budget, curriculum, discipline policies, personnel) is conducted at local school sites, rather than by central district offices. In participatory management, school-level administrators share power with school staff and parents, who participate in these decisions. Advocates of participatory management assume that involving teachers in decision-making will result in teachers "buying in" to those decisions and taking more responsibility for the outcome of those decisions (Benson and Malone; Morhman, Cooke, and Morhman, 1978; Schneider, 1984; Sprague, 1992). In addition, advocates of participatory management frequently argue that it will minimize resistance by employees to organizational change (Benson and Malone 1987; Blase 1989; Cistone, Fernandez, and Tornillo 1989). Advocates expect that adults will make responsible decisions, in the best interests of the organization as a whole, even if such decisions conflict with the perceived best interests of staff. These assumptions need

further testing.

Participatory management has become very popular in many different types of organizations, not only schools. Beginning in the 1980's, large numbers of American corporations began to use Japanese-style "quality circles" in their production and manufacturing plants. Yugoslavia and France instituted national policies for worker involvement in decision-making (Wilson, 1991; Witt, 1992). These efforts were not always successful, at least partially because workers did not always desire such involvement, and because workers were often suspicious of management motives for involving them.

This paper addresses the meaning of leadership in participatory management; specifically, I examine the role of the principal in the implementation of the Participation Program.[2] The leadership of an organization is one of the crucial factors in any democratic decision-making arrangement. This paper, based on ethnographic research in four elementary schools during the first three years of implementing the Participation Program, examines how principal leadership affects implementation of participatory management.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM:

The school-based management literature focuses on the significance of principals in involving teachers in decision-making and on the style of leadership required for school-based management. The importance of leaders to organizational effectiveness has been questioned by some (most notably Weick, 1976). Similarly, in their survey of general

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[2]The author would like to acknowledge the contributions of Charles Payne, Christopher Jencks and John Diamond.

school effectiveness (not school-based management), Hoy et al. surveyed 840 teachers, finding that principals have only an indirect effect, by building a climate of trust in the school (Hoy, Tarter and Witkoskie, 1992).[3] However, these studies are in the minority. The preponderance of research on school-based management (SBM) does share a consensus on the importance of principals. This is also the consensus of those who have reviewed the literature. "Leadership and leader behavior can make a difference." (Immegart, 1988:261; see also Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan and Lee, 1982; Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982). Most authors argue that principal leadership is the most significant factor in involving teachers in shared decision-making (Blase,1989; Deal, 1987; Johnson, 1989; Smylie, 1992; Weiss and Cambone, 1994). "The more that teachers perceive their relationships with their principals to be open, collaborative, facilitative, and supportive of their judgment and discretion, the more likely they are to express willingness to participate [in decision-making]" (Smylie, 1992:61).

The majority of SBM literature omits one crucial item--the issue of principal effectiveness. Studies of school effectiveness have been conducted separately from studies of school-based management. Researchers may be assuming that principals are effective to start with, or they may be assuming that SBM will improve schools, regardless of whether or not the principals are effective. Because the research does not address effectiveness, I cannot discern which assumption is the source of the omission.

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[3]Note that this study was a survey of teachers. It is possible that teachers do not credit the principal with as much influence as principals do themselves when surveyed, or as ethnographers do upon observation.

Researchers emphasize instead the style of leadership necessary for successful shared decision-making.[4]

Those few authors who do address effectiveness use a variety of definitions for effective leadership. For example, in his case study of three urban schools, Blase found that effective school principals are those who exhibit consistency, set clear and reasonable expectations, manage time well, support teachers in conflicts with students and parents, and recognize staff efforts (Blase, 1987). Such principals had a positive effect on teachers' self-reported performance and satisfaction, and on teacher interactions with each other, students and parents. Others define effective principals as those who establish and actively model the school's norms, creating linkages between the loosely-coupled organizational components (Firestone and Wilson, 1985). Deal and Peterson describe effective principals as symbolic leaders who face conflict, using it to resolve disputes and build unity, and who use their own behavior to exemplify core values and beliefs (Deal and Peterson, 1991). In this paper, I define an effective principal as one who follows through on decisions and demands performance from school staff principals. I will argue that principals first must be effective if they are to be successful in implementing organizational

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[4]One possible explanation for this omission rests in the methodology of these studies. Most of the research on principal leadership has been cross-sectional, survey research using formal, closed-ended questionnaires (Bredeson, 1993; Hoy, Tarter and Witkoskie, 1992; Kunz and Hoy, 1976; Lee, Smith and Cioci, 1993; Smylie, 1992) or semi-structured interviews (Johnson, 1989; Keedy and Finch, 1994; Goldman, Dunlap and Conley, 1993; Tewel, 1988; Wohlsetter and Morhman, 1994). Only a few researchers used longitudinal, case study methods (Blase, 1989; Hall, 1988; Weiss and Cambone, 1994). Researchers may have assumed effectiveness and without field data to remind them of this issue, it did not arise in the data collection process.

change; style of leadership is secondary.

While reviews of the literature have determined that no one leadership style has been demonstrated to be useful in all situations (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan and Lee, 1982; Fullan, 1991; Immegart, 1988), there is general agreement in the research on school-based management that shared decision-making requires "facilitative" leadership (Bredeson, 1993; Goldman, Dunlap and Conley, 1993; Keedy and Finch, 1994; Weiss, 1994; Wohlsetter and Mohrman, 1994). Some authors define facilitative leadership as leadership "manifested through someone" rather than over someone; its power is not zero-sum, but "interactive and additive" (Goldman, Dunlap and Conley, 1993). Other authors see facilitative leadership as power "neither for social control nor for personal aggrandizement, but as a need to influence others for the good of the organization." (Keedy and Finch, 1984:162). These authors find that facilitative leadership results in more successful school-based management. From the teachers' perspective, "If principals take teachers' proposals seriously and incorporate their suggestions into the school's policies and practices, teachers, in response would likely commit more time to the task of improving schools. Where principals were closed to formal influence, teachers either withdrew completely behind their classroom doors or continued to exert their personal and political sway informally in an effort to right bad decisions that impinged on their teaching" (Johnson, 1989:105). Authoritarian principals engender passive-aggressive and ingratiating behavior; teachers are more straightforward and more likely to express commitment to their work and the school with participatory principals (Blase, 1989; see

also Tewel, 1988). Note however that Immegart, in his review of the educational leadership literature, sees the causality in the opposite direction: "leaders do tend toward a democratic style when subordinates exercise initiative and set goals and a more autocratic style when subordinates are passive, seek instructions, or are unquestioning." (Immegart, 1988:263).[5]

Assessing the style of leadership which most authors attribute to success with SBM was difficult due to the failure of most of these authors to address one another in their scholarly work. In the extensive literature review I conducted in writing this paper, I studied the references of the articles on SBM and those on leadership, searching for the work(s) which most authors might consider definitive. I found that there were few articles cited by more than two authors. Additionally, authors used different terminology to describe the same concepts. Similar principals' leadership styles were described alternately as "open", "democratic", "initiators/responders", or "participative", to name just a few. The term "facilitative" was utilized most frequently, and thus I chose this term to characterize the most successful principals in the Participation Program.

Most authors describe facilitative leadership as the opposite of authoritarian leadership. I disagree. I see facilitative leadership as the middle point on a continuum, with

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[5]While it is unclear what research Immegart utilizes to buttress this claim, this does raise an interesting dilemma regarding the direction of causality. Do leaders prompt subordinate behavior or does subordinate behavior produce leaders' styles? (I do not attempt to address this issue in this paper.) Of course, a certain amount of democracy is a necessary pre-condition if subordinates are to be able to influence leader behavior; in extreme hierarchical organizations, such as the military, subordinate influence on superiors is unlikely to occur.

authoritarian leadership at one end and what I call "invisible" leadership on the other end. Facilitative leaders lead rather than control, but they retain responsibility for decisions made in the school, whether they made those decisions alone or with a team. In contrast, an authoritarian principal is autocratic; such a principal tries to control everything that happens in the building, is closed to power sharing, and rejects staff and parent participation in decision making. At the other end of the continuum, an invisible principal fails to provide any sense of direction for the organization and cannot articulate goals or organizational vision; such principals are usually quite interested in power-sharing, but they rely too heavily on others to provide leadership.

Additionally, several authors argue that the principal needs teacher-leaders for support (Goldman, Dunlap and Conley, 1993; Keedy and Finch, 1994; Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982; Wohlsetter and Morhman, 1994). In order to successfully implement change, especially school-based management (which requires active participation by teachers), principals must have a strong group of supporters assisting in the implementation process. Hall, who conducted a year-long intensive study of nine principals, refined this concept of supporters by demonstrating that principals are essential, but they work in conjunction with other change facilitators. Together these individuals comprise a "change facilitating team", and principals set the tone for that team (Hall, 1988). However, as Tewel illustrates, having a select group of supporters can result in factionalization of the staff (Tewel, 1988). Thus, principals must act with care in seeking assistance from staff, so as not to seem to be playing favorites. In addition, Maeroff argues

that leaders must be self-confident, unafraid that employees will conspire against them (Maeroff, 1988).

Finally, evidence seems to indicate that women are more adept at these leadership skills than are men. To date, few investigators have examined the relationship between gender and successful principalship in school-based management. Reviews of the literature indicate that women are more likely to evidence the behaviors associated with effective leadership (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan and Lee, 1982; Fishel and Pottker, 1977; Fullan, 1991; Shakeshaft, 1985). Weiss mentions as a sidebar that her small sample seemed to indicate that participatory management is better suited to "women's ways of knowing" (Weiss, 1994). Lee at al. provide a thorough review of the literature and find that there is a consensus that female principals have a more democratic and participatory style, focusing on the personal and on the school's core technologies (i.e., teaching and instruction), while male principals are more structural and focused on organizational management. In their own research, Lee et al, find that men feel less personal power under female principals while women feel substantially more empowered, but that both sexes feel more control over policy (i.e., organizational power) under female principals (Lee, Smith, and Cioci, 1993). Thus, the small amount of existing data indicates that, in general, women are better suited to leadership in school-based management.

However, caution must be used in extrapolating from these findings to a conclusion that women make better principals in schools using SBM. First, most of this data is based on very small samples or cites findings which are not statistically significant (Adkison,

1981). Second, as I explained above, most of this is survey research, often using self-reported data. Third, it is often unclear what criteria are being used to determine "success" in this literature. Finally, there is a tendency to discuss this issue in terms of "women's ways of knowing" and what are considered traditionally feminine behaviors. As Adkison points out, "Attempts to associate administrative success with stereotypical masculine or feminine behaviors are likely to add little to the understanding of effective administration..." (Adkison, 1981:319). If women are shown to experience greater success as school leaders, it is imperative that researchers look beyond gender stereotypes and examine possible structural and organizational explanations for these differences.

This paper will argue that successful implementation of school-based management begins with principals, that such principals must use a facilitative management style, but principal effectiveness is primary. This paper will also illustrate that principals cannot do it alone; principals need (at least some) committed staff behind them in order to improve the functioning of the school organization. Without these variables in place, complete implementation of participatory management is unlikely, although some elements of it may be successfully developed. Finally, preliminary data analysis of the fourteen schools in the Participation Program shows that female principals tend to be more successful with the program than male principals.

METHODOLOGY: I conducted three years of ethnographic research in four schools

implementing the Participation Program. I observed more than two hundred team meetings, as well as annual school retreats, planning meetings, in-service training and other special events. I also conducted sixty-six formal interviews and numerous informal interviews with principals, teachers, parents and program facilitators.

I studied four schools in the Participation Program. Two schools, Washington[6] on the South End and Addams on the East End, served roughly comparable student populations--very low income African American students. Both schools had mobility rates of nearly thirty percent.[7] (A mobility rate is a calculation of the rate of student turnover in a given year; high mobility rates are indicative of high levels of transience--usually associated with extreme poverty--in the community.) At both schools, test scores were very low, lower even than the other schools in their subdistrict and significantly lower than the citywide scores. These two schools also seemed to have similar leadership and similar organizational structures. The principals at both schools were willing to share power (i.e., engage in shared decision making and encourage the development of secondary leadership) but lacked the respect of their staff. I chose two additional schools to contrast with these first two on leadership and organizational structure: Steele School was on the South End of the city and had an autocratic principal with a lengthy tenure at the school. Like Washington and Addams, Steele served very low-income, African American students and the school had a similarly high mobility rate and low test scores. The Erving School

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[6]School names are pseudonyms.

[7]All data are from 1994. Specific figures are omitted to maintain school anonymity.

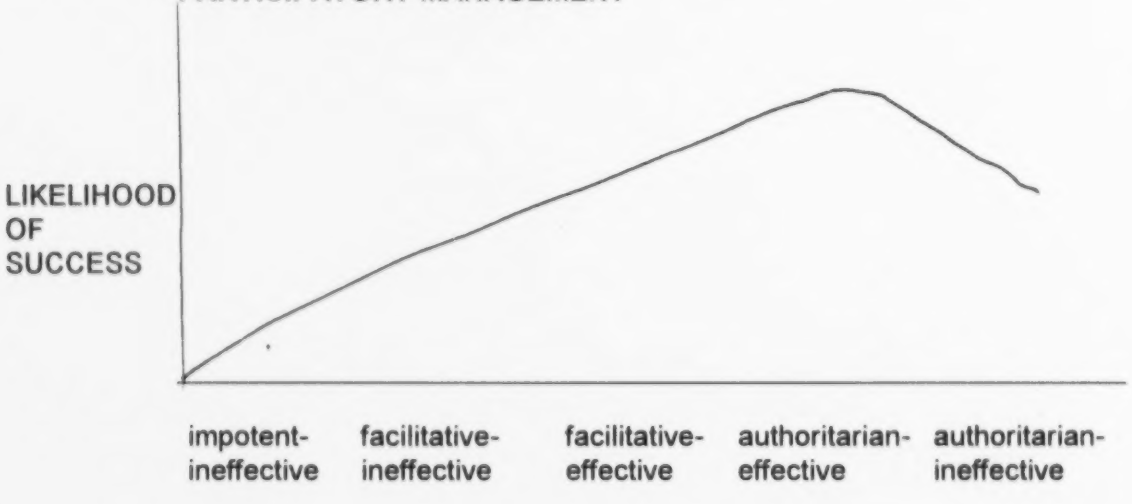
was a brand new school serving a racially and economically heterogeneous student population, whose principal was new to the role of principal. I hypothesized that the quality and style of principal leadership would have great impact on the success of implementation, and this proved true, although sometimes in unexpected ways.

This paper will focus on the four schools at which I conducted my ethnographic research. Where relevant, I draw on the observations of other ethnographers from the other ten schools in the Participation Program. However, my analysis of these other schools is incomplete at this date. Most of the data for this paper is drawn from Administrative Team meetings, annual school retreats, and interviews.

DATA AND DISCUSSION:

As figure 1 illustrates, there are six possible leadership styles for principals.

FIGURE 1. PRINCIPAL LEADERSHIP STYLES AND LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS IN PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT



Of these leadership styles, the facilitative-effective principal is the most capable of successfully contributing to the implementation of school-based management.[8] A facilitative principal (1) leads rather than controls school staff, using consensus decision-making to achieve a collectively defined vision for the organization; (2) encourages the development of leadership within the non-administrative staff; and, (3) fosters a sense of trust and efficacy throughout the school. Thus, a facilitative principal helps to create a climate in which true shared decision-making is possible. My preliminary data analysis indicates that a principal should perform all three of these functions in order to successfully lead a school using SBM. For example, a facilitative principal does not necessarily chair meetings; s/he encourages others to take the lead. In addition, s/he seeks faculty input on the meeting agenda at a minimum, but s/he might prefer staff and parents to develop the agenda, suggesting topics s/he felt necessary to add. Either way, s/he will encourage an emphasis on topics which address the school's greatest needs (e.g., mathematics instruction, rather than photocopying procedures). In contrast, an authoritarian principal controls the agenda and content of meetings. An authoritarian principal attempts to prevent staff and parent involvement in decision making, and thus s/he dominates the meeting, frequently using the time to make announcements rather than providing the social space for discussion. Finally, an invisible principal welcomes involvement of staff and parents at all levels of decision making, but s/he does not provide direction by suggesting the ultimate

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[8]See Appendix: Figure 3 for a description of the phases of program implementation.

purpose of meetings or setting expectations for the decision making process.

One of the four schools I studied had a true facilitative principal. Another principal appeared to be facilitative, but in fact, his leadership was invisible. However, at the start of implementation both of these principals had limited effectiveness because they lacked the respect of their staff. I define an effective principal as one who follows through on decisions and demands performance from school staff, while an ineffective principal fails to follow through on decisions and makes few or no demands for staff performance. An effective principal focuses on important educational and curricular issues; an effective principal is not distracted by public relations and what some writers call "administrivia", daily school organization and maintenance issues such as timetables, personnel administration, and requests for information from others (Leithwood, Begley and Cousins, 1990).

The principal at Addams School was facilitative but lacked respect of her staff because of the political climate in the school. The dynamics were racially-charged: this principal was white and was opposed by an African American staff member who wanted the principal position; a large portion of the staff were allied with this man. During the first year of implementation, conflict between the principal and this group dominated the energies of much of the staff. This staff member was the major resister to the program, and the principal feared direct confrontation between them. Over time, the Addams School principal was able to earn the trust and respect of the staff and overcome this conflict to move forward with implementation.

She earned this respect by demonstrating her effectiveness as an administrator. At first her effectiveness was limited. Although the school did make educational progress, as indicated by rising test scores in mathematics, there were many administrative problems. For example, a few incompetent teachers continued their work unimpeded by principal evaluations. By the third year, she felt comfortable enough to evaluate non-performing teachers, acting as a true instructional leader.

During the three years I observed at Addams School, the principal worked towards gaining esteem from the staff. She brought in resources (such as a science lab.), and she did her best to consistently enforce rules (although she was not always successful). She also learned to be a true facilitative leader. In the first two years, she chaired all Administrative Team meetings. In the third year, at the suggestion of the staff, the chairperson role rotated amongst team members. Learning to be a true facilitative leader took time. For example, at the end of the first year of implementation, she conducted a meeting to discuss the budget for the following year. In preparation for the meeting, the principal had distributed a memo asking teachers to prioritize budget requests. At the meeting, teachers acted hostile towards her, which seemed ironic since she was actually including them in the decision-making process. However, because her leadership style allowed teachers to feel comfortable expressing their concerns, she quickly learned the source of their hostility. Teachers felt like they were not truly being included because she had not provided enough information so that they could effectively contribute. At first, the principal was defensive in her response, but she did give them the information they

needed and she set another meeting date to discuss the budget again. By the third year of implementation, this principal had developed a procedure for conducting the annual budget meeting with the Administrative Team so that they could effectively participate in these decisions. Staff and parents were provided with all the necessary information in advance and had the opportunity to discuss their budgetary needs at constituency group meetings. As a result, the final Administrative Team meetings to discuss the budget were no longer antagonistic.

In addition, the principal at Addams School encouraged the growth of leadership throughout the staff and among the parents. These other leaders were often able to complement the principal's strengths (and weaknesses) as a leader. One secondary leader, the teachers' union delegate, frequently received complaints about the principal. In the first two years, she privately discussed these concerns with the principal and counseled her on possible responses. By the third year, she suggested to the complaining staff that they address their concerns to the principal directly. This helped demonstrate to the staff that the Participation Program expected direct and open communication between leadership and subordinates. It also enabled the principal to grow as a facilitative leader.

Thus, at the Addams School, effective-facilitative leadership resulted in successful implementation of the Participation Program. At the end of the third year, one teacher said of the principal, "She's a strong principal with this [Participation Program] business." At that year's annual retreat, the staff and parents were discussing relationships in the school. Several staff members expressed frustration that the principal did not always act

as nicely as they would have liked. A parent replied, "We're not here to like [the principal], we're here to work with her." The principal answered that she thought the issue was "a misunderstanding of the administrator's role... I have to hold people accountable and you may not like me." This statement demonstrates the growth of this principal over the three years of implementation. At earlier retreats, complaints from staff had moved her to tears. Now she knew that such complaints were not personal, and that they derived from confusion about the organization and the principal's role in it. She knew that she was a leader, and as a leader, her job sometimes required performing unpopular duties for the good of the organization and the students it serves.

FIGURE 2. PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS

	ADDAMS	WASHINGTON	STEELE	ERVING[9]
STYLE	Facilitative	Invisible	Authoritarian	Facilitative/ Authoritarian
EFFECTIVE-NESS	Effective	Ineffective	Ineffective	too early to tell
SEX	Female	Male	Male	Male
SECONDARY LEADERSHIP	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
IMPLEMENTA-TION PHASE[10]	Integration	Operational	Transition	Transition

Like the Addams School principal, the Washington School principal was white and did not have the respect of the staff; however, in this case it was because the principal was a weak leader who failed to follow through on decisions or demand adherence to even the most basic school policies from his staff. He was ineffective and his leadership was invisible. For example, many teachers arrived late on a regular basis and this principal would not or could not demand promptness. He appeared to be facilitative, but he did not foster a sense of trust and efficacy among staff. In fact, there was a great deal of mistrust and frustration.

During the second year of implementation, Washington School held great promise. There were several enthusiastic teachers involved in the Participation Program and one

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[9]Erving had been in program only one year when this research was concluded.

[10]See Appendix: Figure 3 for explanation of phases of program implementation.

prominent resister had left the school. Teams were meeting and making plans. Everyone was optimistic. However, that optimism began to fade as plans failed to become action. For example, at the annual retreat in the spring of that year, the teachers and parents who attended developed a detailed discipline plan. They began to implement that plan promptly upon returning to school the following Monday. But staff enforcement of these rules diminished as the months passed, and the principal did not reinforce the code.

In third year of implementation, teachers at Washington complained that "administrative functioning" was one of the school's primary problems. They complained about lack of "follow up or enforcement" of school rules. One teacher said that Washington "has a lot of excellent ideas on paper that are not being enforced." Another teacher told me that this principal "says yes rather than fight." A staff member who was leaving the school out of frustration explained, "if it's not evident at the top, then it won't be among the staff." It was then that I began to develop my understanding that sharing decision-making was not sufficient for the principal to be successful with SBM. In conversation with the departing staff member, I listed the principal's traits, traits that should make a good principal in participatory management terms (non-authoritarian, not controlling, listens to others). I asked why, in spite of these qualities, this principal was unsuccessful. He replied that these assets were worthless because the principal did not make people accountable. The following field note demonstrates this point:

> One afternoon during spring of the third year, I stood in the hall talking to the program facilitator. I watched as one teacher walked her class ever so slowly to the gym; she wasted twenty minutes inching them down the hall, thereby avoiding

> twenty minutes of instructional time. On several other occasions, I witnessed teachers lining up their students in the hallway for dismissal ten or fifteen minutes prior to the bell at the end of the day; the teachers would stand in the hall with their class and wait for the bell to ring. The program facilitator told me such incidents were common and that the principal knew about it but did nothing. These incidents were indicative of the level of disorder and counter-productive behavior in which some staff engaged and which were tolerated by the principal.

As a result of the principal's ineffectual leadership, SBM was not successfully implemented at Washington, in spite of the valiant efforts of a portion of the staff. In the end, several of those teachers considered to be the best teachers and who were most enthusiastic about participatory management told me they chose to leave Washington School for schools with more effective principals. Thus, meaningful implementation of SBM involves more than willingness to share power; the principal also needs to be an effective leader and manager.

Effective principals, those who follow through on decisions and demand performance from staff, appear to be more likely to successfully implement SBM. It is easier for an authoritarian principal to develop a facilitative leadership style than it is for an ineffective principal to become effective. The principal at Addams School did make the transition from a somewhat ineffective to an effective leader, but it took three years and great perseverance. The staff in a school must believe that the principal is capable and competent before they will invest in participatory management. Teachers are likely to resist shared decision-making, at least at first. Teachers must believe that their principal is (or

can be) effective if they are to commit to organizational change. This is what Bossert et al. (1982) describe as power and authority earned through influence--by gaining control of resources and applying those resources to solve problems. "Success in such endeavors accumulates as authority because esteem for the leader increases in the eyes of the followers and enhances their willingness to follow" (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan and Lee, 1982:50). In contrast, a principal with a history of inability or unwillingness to get basic things accomplished, to follow-through on decisions, and to demand performance from his/her staff will be unable to engage a sufficient percentage of staff in the implementation process.

While it is true that a principal in a school where school-based management works well must be facilitative, the principal does not have to be facilitative when implementation begins. A principal can be successful with SBM even if he or she is authoritarian at the start, making all decisions alone, maintaining a rigid hierarchy in the school, and doing little to develop other sources of leadership. Authoritarian principals can learn to be facilitative, developing a shared leadership style and mastering shared decision-making over time. Of course, they must be willing to change. In order to be willing to change, they must perceive benefits to changing their style of leadership.

One such principal was among the fourteen in the Participation Program.[11] This principal had an authoritarian style at the start of the implementation process. She had difficulty sharing power at first. However, she was considered by her staff and the parents

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[11]N.B. This school was observed by another ethnographer.

to be an effective leader. Her school serves a racially diverse community on the city's North End, but this principal managed to keep racial conflict to a minimum and cultivated a climate of efficacy. Over time, this principal learned to recognize that developing other leaders among the staff solidified her power and increased her effectiveness. This school is now considered a model for the Participation Program. The key element to their success was the principal's effective leadership.

In contrast, the principal at Steele School was authoritarian, however he was also in many ways ineffective. This principal was an African American man with a lengthy tenure at this school. Leithwood and Montgomery argue that authoritarian leadership is generally less effective, because such principals frequently tolerate problems while denying that a problem exists (1982). This accurately characterizes the principal at Steele, who was unwilling to share power and used manipulation as a tool for maintaining power. He found the idea of shared power very threatening. At one Administrative Team meeting, a department chairperson finally became incensed with the principal's resistance:

> The chairperson stood up, crying, and said "this discussion has been professional but it's pointless." They need the principal to "sanction the program for it to work. If he doesn't, this [discussion of team functioning] doesn't matter."

This principal had a reputation among teachers for manipulation and threats. The principal controlled the teams, writing the agenda himself and controlling the flow of meetings. There were rarely any decisions made by the Administrative Team; rather, he used the time to make announcements. Teachers felt that if they asserted themselves, there would

be repercussions in the form of undesirable class assignments and unappealing schedules. Teachers described the principal as "threatened" by power-sharing. When I asked how the principal did with shared decision-making, one teacher told me "There's a fear of losing control. An insecure person [referring to the principal] may have a problem."

This controlling, authoritarian style was coupled with ineffectiveness. He did demand that the teachers follow basic rules and that the school was orderly, but he did not demand performance from his staff. Standardized test scores were very low, yet he did not assert that they must improve. The school psychologist and social worker did little counseling of students, yet he did not ask them to alter their practices. (Perhaps as a result, these staff were among the principal's strongest supporters.) Instead, this principal spent his energy on administrivia and acquiring resources. He maintained his power base by ensuring a safe, orderly building so that the community appreciated him, and by not demanding much more than that from his staff. When necessary he would wield his power outright, such as when he prevented the Parent Team from meeting prior to his contract renewal. By doing this, he averted a possible opposing coalition of parents from forming who might have voted against retaining him. During the first year of implementation at this school the Administrative Team held one climactic meeting:

> At one Administrative Team meeting, the principal was (as usual) controlling the agenda and rushing through, thereby preventing people from speaking to the issues. Frustrated, the facilitator stopped the principal and told him that he sensed that people had things to say. The staff took this opening to launch into a list of concerns and complaints about the principal and his leadership style, particularly the lack of shared power. The principal took this as a personal attack and later confronted the facilitator about what he thought was a pre-meditated onslaught. The relationship between the principal and the facilitator took years to recover.

Therefore, this principal is an example of an authoritarian, ineffective principal who did not successfully implement the Participation Program (and clearly did not desire to). He chose to be part of this program for opportunistic reasons [see discussion below].

The principal at the Erving School was new to the role of principal. Although I only observed this school in its first year of implementation, it was clear that this principal was struggling both with effectiveness and with developing a facilitative style. The Erving School principal was finding it difficult to discern to which items he should devote most of his time; he was often distracted by administrivia, and although he worked very long hours, he was overwhelmed every day with the work load. This principal stated that he believed in shared leadership, yet he often failed to listen to others' opinions. Because he clearly cared about the children and the school, most teachers respected him and his staff helped him. At the end of one year, this school had the potential to go either way--if the principal learned to be more effective and to be a true facilitative leader, this could be one of the most successful schools. However, there was also the clear potential for failure here.

GENDER AND THE PRINCIPALSHIP: When the facilitators of the Participation Program list the three schools they consider to be the most successful, they list three schools led by female principals. The Participation Program, and school-based management in general, requires shared leadership and participatory decision-making. This is a style of organizational leadership which has been attributed more frequently to women. Research indicates that men tend to lead in a more formal, hierarchical manner, which is not

conducive to SBM. Out of the fourteen Participation Program schools, there are six female principals and eight male principals. Only one of the female principals has been unsuccessful at implementing the program. However, none of the male principals has stood out as among the most successful. Some male principals have been unable or unwilling to share power (as at Steele School). Other male principals have been ineffective administrators (such as Washington School's principal), and this ineffectiveness has undermined implementation efforts. Not all the male principals have failed, some are moderately successful. Still, of the twelve schools which remain in the Participation Program, male principals lead the four schools which are still in the transition phase.

Leadership is a relationship between the leader and the followers. Thus, a leader's capacity to lead is directly affected by the followers willingness to be led by this individual. In this interactive process, different types of leadership may be more effective for men and women. One hypothesis for understanding the greater success of female principals is that what appears as ineffectiveness in a male principal may be an effective method for a female principal. Not only may men have a harder time sharing power, but their subordinates may have a harder time accepting a facilitative style from a male leader. In contrast, male subordinates often have a difficult time accepting the leadership of women (Lee et al., 1983). Thus, a shared leadership style may be a more successful style for female leaders because it allows men to participate in school administration, thereby reducing male resentment toward their female supervisors. A facilitative leadership style may be less effective for male leaders because for men it may appear to be weak or

ineffective leadership; for female leaders, facilitative leadership may be more effective than other styles because subordinates may be more willing to accept her leadership if she is facilitative.

For example, one of the twelve Participation Program schools has a female principal who initially faced resistance because a segment of the school staff wanted a male principal. Over time, she won over this staff with hard work and professionalism. She also developed a true facilitative style. She had heard from another principal that if staff did not buy into the program, "the whole thing would flop". She took this advice and was careful to present the program to the entire staff for them to vote on it. She was good at delegating authority and was very democratic in meetings, listening to everyone's concerns and helping the team arrive at good solutions. Thus, this principal successfully dissipated staff preferences for male leadership.

Another hypothesis to explain these gender differences rests in the original motives principals had for participating in the program. It is possible that what appear to be gender differences in outcomes can be attributed to gender differences in motivation. For example, according to the program facilitators and some school staff, the authoritarian-ineffective principal at Steele School chose to participate in the Participation Program for opportunistic reasons (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). He wanted additional resources for his school and wanted to add another well-known program to the list of programs in the school for public relations reasons. He was hoping to engage in merely "symbolic compliance" (Berman and McLaughlin, 1979). In contrast, the principal at Addams School

decided to be a part of the program because she truly wanted to improve her school, and she realized that this would require a significant personal investment of time and energy. While I do not have complete data on all of the principals regarding motivation at this time, the hypothesis that gender differences in outcomes are simply reflecting gender differences in motivation must be considered.

SECONDARY LEADERSHIP: None of the successful principals described above could have achieved their success without the support of other leaders on their staff. Secondary leaders are vital to the successful school leadership in general and to leadership of SBM in particular (Goldman, Dunlap and Conley, 1993; Keedy and Finch, 1994; Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982; Wohlsetter and Morhman, 1994). It is obvious, but it bears repeating that principals cannot implement shared leadership without other leaders with whom to share it. Such leaders can (and should) come from any and all sectors of the staff and among the parents.

At the Addams School, the actions of a particularly adept facilitator helped to foster the growth of leadership among the parents. In addition, a few well-respected staff members demonstrated interest and took prominent roles in the Participation Program from the outset of implementation. These secondary leaders were essential. First, they served a symbolic function as they demonstrated confidence in the idea of SBM to other staff. For example, while some staff remained critical of parent involvement, these secondary leaders took the initiative of attending parents' meetings in order to facilitate

communication between staff and parents. Second, these secondary leaders helped to minimize the power and influence of the group of resisters. In the first year of implementation, the resisters accepted formal roles on teams, but then would not participate in discussions at meetings or would respond to suggestions only with negativity and pessimism about change. The program supporters worked around these resisters. They formed subcommittees to implement team decisions. They worked closely with the principal and the facilitator. Over time, their hard work, combined with demonstrated improvements in climate and test scores, demonstrated to most of these resisters that the program was worthwhile and that the principal was effective. Third, secondary leaders at Addams helped to communicate the process and the decisions to non-involved staff members. For example, they formed an agenda committee to maximize staff participation in developing the Administrative Team's agenda. They also took responsibility early on for typing meeting minutes and distributing them to all staff (although later these responsibilities were shared more equitably among team members). The following field note demonstrates how the secondary leaders affected other staff:

> At a meeting in the third year of implementation, teachers complained about their own failure to follow-through on decisions. One teacher, a former resister, commented: "I said at the last retreat, we need to follow through. I'm saying it again. I'm a broken record!" Another teacher, a longtime program proponent, asked "Haven't we said this before?" Several people laughed and exclaimed "Yes!" He then asked, "Then who's going to take responsibility for making it happen?"

As this comment indicates, without these secondary leaders, implementation would have failed at Addams. Secondary leaders took "responsibility for making it happen."

At Washington School, there was a similar group of secondary leaders. These

leaders also demonstrated confidence in the idea of SBM through their actions. And like their counterparts at Addams School, they helped to communicate the process and the decisions to non-involved staff members. However, when these secondary leaders experienced repeated frustration because the principal failed to hold irresponsible staff members accountable for their actions, the secondary leaders became the principal's greatest detractors. They did not stop attending team meetings or performing their duties for the Participation Program, but without their support (both symbolic and real) for the principal, meaningful implementation became an insurmountable task.

At the Steele School, the authoritarian-ineffective principal directed much energy towards preventing the development of secondary leadership. He used his power to minimize the impact of parents; for example, he hired parents as “paid volunteers”, a move some teachers and the program facilitator perceived as an effort to prevent parent criticism of him. In addition, when asked to select an "in-house facilitator" to assist with program implementation, he chose a competent but powerless new staff member. For the first two years of implementation, the Administrative Team was staffed by his chosen favorites, thereby antagonizing many school personnel. Thus, by preventing the development of secondary leadership, he avoided any threats to his power. He was ineffective, but unlike the principal at Washington, there was no one with the influence to organize any opposition to his contract renewal. He successfully used the method of "divide and conquer".

Therefore, secondary leadership is essential to successful implementation of the

Participation Program. Without secondary leadership, a principal cannot motivate the staff to participate in shared decision-making. Secondary leadership serves both symbolic and real functions. However, secondary leadership can backfire on a principal who is ineffective. Empowerment of staff and parents may result in direct confrontation. Of course, this is just what the designers of SBM hope for--that secondary leaders will develop and demand performance from all levels of the school, including their superiors.

CONCLUSION: School-based management has become an extremely popular form of school restructuring, called by some the "second wave" of school reform. Successful implementation of SBM begins with the principal. SBM requires a different style of leadership: a facilitative, democratic, collaborative style. This style of leadership runs counter to the training and experience of most administrators. Not every principal can do it well. In addition, the principal must be an effective leader. Authoritarian leaders become facilitative more easily than ineffective leaders become effective (provided of course that the authoritarian leader is willing to change). It is very difficult for ineffective leaders to learn effectiveness and to gain the trust and respect of their staff that is required for successful implementation of SBM. Successful implementation of SBM involves more than just the principal; SBM also entails secondary leadership. Finally, evidence (although not definitive) indicates that female principals tend to have greater success with facilitative leadership than male principals, perhaps because women tend to less hierarchical leadership styles, or perhaps because subordinates accept facilitative leadership more readily from women while it is perceived as weakness among men.

All too frequently in education, reform fads sweep through the nation's schools before enough is known about them to determine the requirements for successful implementation. As a result, reforms frequently fail--not because they were poor ideas--but because they were implemented poorly. SBM risks being such a reform. The growing body of knowledge on leadership in SBM demonstrates that this is a reform which is not appropriate for every school and every principal. SBM is not a universal solution to the problems plaguing our schools. However, for the school that is willing and the principal who is able to share power and engage in participatory decision-making, SBM can make a positive change.

APPENDIX: FIGURE 3. PHASES OF PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION[12]

	ORIENTATION PHASE 3-6 MONTHS	TRANSITION PHASE 1ST TO 2ND YEAR	OPERATIONAL PHASE 2ND TO 4TH YEAR	INTEGRATION PHASE 3RD TO 5TH YEAR
Process of Implementation	In the first 3-6 months, all stakeholders (staff, parents and community residents) are acquainted with the basic elements of the process. Schools receive training. The principal articulates commitment to the process.	All teams are developed (AT, SST, PT, constituency groups). Stakeholders have learned the content and how to implement the process in the school. Roles are continually clarified. Divergent opinions become more vocal. Increased parental involvement. Consensus decision making emerges. Development of improved teaching methodology and curriculum begins. School begins to use reliable self-assessment.	Elements of program are in place and practiced with greater faithfulness to the model. Teams begin to use effective problem solving and consistently use consensus to develop workable solutions. Secondary leadership emerges. An observable improvement in adult relationships and some changes in student achievement occur. School staff experience increased job satisfaction. Principals embrace and campaign for change.	Participation Program well integrated into day-to-day school operations. School institutionalizes process (i.e., faces change but process remains). Significant growth in student achievement is experienced. Measurable evidence of parent involvement, reduction in discipline referrals, improved student attendance, significant positive perceptions of school climate among students, parents and all staff members. Improved instructional methodologies clearly evident.
School staff, parent and community role.	Provide support and adequate time/space for staff and parent training.	Allocate resources to support specific aspects of process. Reinforce new ways of behaving and new knowledge.	Strong support of each other's efforts. Strong sanctioning of new ways of behaving and new knowledge.	Allocation of resources based on new vision. Everyone is "walking the talk" and taking active responsibility for children.
Facilitator's role	Sharing information and teaching the model. High level of involvement.	Teacher/coach/resource development. High level of involvement.	Coach/consultant/ resource developer. Moderate involvement.	Consultant. Low level of involvement.

[12]This table is derived from a table produced by the Participation Program facilitators for the use of school staff.

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